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SPECIAL ANALYSES

POLAND: Implications of Jaruzelski's Speech

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Premier Jaruzelski's speech yesterday to the parliament will gain little popularity for the regime or its policies and does not foreshadow a break in the domestic stalemate.

[REDACTED]

Jaruzelski clearly wants to remove the superficial irritants of martial law. He plans to proceed at his own pace, however, and base his actions on the level of opposition activities. [REDACTED]

The Premier will not hesitate to return to more harsh tactics if resistance increases. He also has held out the possibility of ending martial law and of a papal visit only if there are sure signs of domestic peace. [REDACTED]

The speech reflects the regime's increased confidence about its ability to maintain control. This may be due partly to the belief that Solidarity is plagued by weakness and indecision. Nevertheless, Jaruzelski still harbors strong reservations about the union's intentions and potential strength. [REDACTED]

Jaruzelski explicitly stated that his long-term goal is to create an effective, competent, and highly disciplined state apparatus, and that the military must play a key role. He will continue to place military men in important positions, even in the party, and bureaucratic procedures used by the military will be imposed on civilian government offices. These practices will contribute to the feuding and bickering within the regime. [REDACTED]

Solidarity and the Church

Solidarity's rank and file, comprising most workers, will find little new or encouraging in the speech. Jaruzelski reaffirmed that economic conditions will

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remain bleak and that the government even intends to crack down on increased absenteeism, particularly on the part of younger workers. [REDACTED]

The unconditional release of 913 internees and conditional release of 314 more may ease somewhat the reported pressure for Solidarity activists to stage demonstrations today--Poland's national day. The underground leadership, however, will continue to agitate for the release of the remaining 600 to 800 internees and will not accept the Premier's refusal to engage in a serious dialogue. [REDACTED]

Solidarity's leadership currently is trying to reassess its strategy of how to bring effective pressure on the regime. Jaruzelski's speech and the unwillingness of the regime to map out a future role for trade unions probably will strengthen the conviction of many union leaders that a dramatic gesture--possibly in the form of a general strike--eventually will be necessary to force concessions. [REDACTED]

With the postponement of the papal visit, the Church has again been forced to bow to the government's will. Church leaders will welcome the release of internees but will remain privately skeptical that the regime is seriously interested in a dialogue with it and Solidarity on the country's future. Nonetheless, they will continue to work cautiously for the release of the other internees, urging restraint to the underground and the populace.

[REDACTED]

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Outlook

Poland's domestic political situation is unchanged. The perseverance of the underground Solidarity leadership, combined with the unhappiness and alienation in factories, will ensure that opposition sentiment and activity continue. [REDACTED]

The government will keep up its efforts to quell opposition. Prospects remain reasonably high that opposition activities in coming months will lead to clashes with the security forces, thereby perpetuating martial law. [REDACTED]

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